3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

THE JOURNAL

OF THE

ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE

OF

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

VOL. LIX.

PUBLISHED BY THE
Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.
52, UPPER BEDFORD PLACE, RUSSELL SQUARE, LONDON, W.C.1.

All Rights Reserved.

[Title Page]

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

MODERN HUNTERS: SOME ACCOUNT OF THE KÀMELÌLO-KÀPCHEPKENDI DORÕBO (OKIEK) OF KENYA COLONY.

[With Plates XXVI–XXVIII.]

By G. W. B. Huntingford.

[*With an account of the Physical Features by the* Hon. P. L. O'Brien, M.A.]

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
Preliminary Note	333
I.—General Remarks on the Dorõbo Tribes: Their Origin and History ...	335
II.—Mode of Subsistence :—	
Houses	340
Hunting	342
Food	342
Agriculture and Stock	345
Dress and Ornaments	345
Arts and Crafts :—	
(*a*) Weapons	346
(*b*) Leather	346
(*c*) Baskets	348
(*d*) Miscellaneous	348
Trade and Commerce	349
Land: Divisions of the Country ...	349
III.—Government	349
IV.—Religious Beliefs :—	
Religion	350
Magic	351
Medicines and Charms	351
V.—Social Institutions :—	
Social Divisions	351
Clans	352
Circumcision Ages	352
Names	353
Circumcision	353
Marriage	353
Death	353
Miscellaneous	353
VI.—Language :—	
Grammar	354
Vocabulary	361
VII.—List of Trees and Plants	374
VIII.—List of Tribe Names ...	376
IX.—Physical Features	376

Preliminary Note.

This paper is based on information collected in Eastern Nandi (*pororbiek* of Kàmelìlo and Kàpchepkendi), where this section of the Dorõbo live. When visiting this district, I was accompanied by the Hon. P. L. O'Brien, M.A., to whom I am indebted for the account of the Physical Features, which is given on p. 376. My information was obtained through the medium of Nandi—which the Dorõbo speak, even among themselves—and without an interpreter, chiefly from Dorõbo elders of the Kàpchelach age. The Dorõbo were told that I wanted to see them by Parfigotany arap Ngambigam, a former chief, whose acquaintance I made through his son Cheimbu, one of

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

my apprentices in the Nandi Industrial School at Kâpsabet; our friendly reception by this elusive people is therefore due to Arap Ñgamñgam. We should like to make it clear that this paper is the result of a short *safari*, and intended as a preliminary study, not as a finished and complete account.

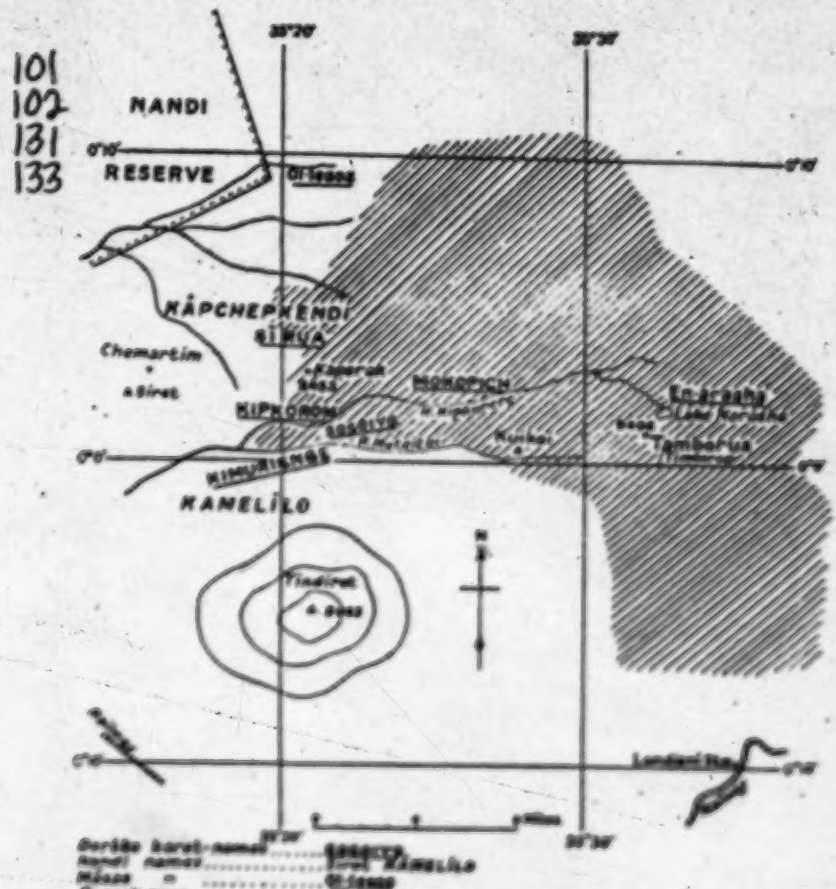


FIG. 1.—SKETCH-MAP OF THE KIPKOROS-KIMUGUL REGION (NANDI).

Both Nandi and Dorobo words are spelt according to the system adopted by Sir A. C. Hollis in his masterly work, *The Nandi*. It should be noted, in the words Okiot, Okiok' (stem Oki-), that the k of the stem is semi-voiced, *i.e.* between k and g.

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

Nouns in Dorôbo and Nandi have two forms for the singular and two for the plural, *i.e.* a primary form, as *muren*, [a] warrior, and *muren-et*, [the] warrior; the characteristic letters of the secondary suffix are, sing., -t (-d); pl., -k. Words of both languages are usualy given in the secondary form; primary forms are distinguished by an asterisk, thus: *mpitiko**. When the Dorôbo use a Nandi word, or when the true Dorôbo is the same as Nandi, the words are marked by the letter N following. Mâsai words are marked thus: † (*engerasit*†). 193

References.—H.M. = Sir A. C. Hollis, *The Masai*; H.N. = Sir A. C. Hollis, *The Nandi*.

I.—General Remarks on the Dorôbo Tribes: Their Origin and History.

The people who form the subject of this paper occupy the forest area north of Timliret hill, above Mukroni station on the Kenya and Uganda Railway, between lat. 0° 5′ S. and 0° 10′ N. and long. 35° 20′ E. and 35° 35′ E., the country that the Nandi call Kâpchepkendi and Kâmeldo (see Text-fig. 1). The Dorôbo call themselves Okiot, pl. Okiek (sm. Chep-okiot, pl. Chep-okiek), by which name they are known to the Nandi. By the Mâsai they are called Ol-Torôbôni, pl. Il-Torôbo (fem. En-Dorôbôni, pl. In-Dorôbo). From the latter form is derived the name by which they are generally known, Wandorôbo. The meaning of the name Oki-ek (stem Oki-) is unknown; the Mâsai name Torôbo may possibly be derived from the adjective *dorop* (pl. *doropu*) (short) in allusion to the short stature of the Dorôbo (*see below*, "Physical Features"), though Hollis (*The Masai*, p. 28, n. 2) thinks that it is not. Since the word Okiek is not perhaps as well known as Dorôbo, I have used the latter throughout this paper. 101 [131]

People calling themselves Okiek are found in various parts of Kenya Colony, in forest regions. A list of the sections[1] of the Dorôbo is given by Mr. C. W. Hobley in *Man*, 1905, 21, together with a short vocabulary of three Dorôbo dialects. In a note to the same paper, Mr. Hobley adds a list of 48 words of the language of a section called "El Mugogodo," who live near the E-Uuaso Ngiro, and who are thought to be Dorôbo. Whatever the origin of the vocabulary of the other Dorôbo languages may be their structure is certainly Nandi; the "El Mogogodo" vocabulary, on the other hand, is apparently a mixture from various sources, among which I can trace Masai, Nandi, Turkana and Nilotic (Dho-Luo) words. The presumption is, therefore, that the "El Mogogodo" are not true Dorôbo. The earliest account of the Dorôbo seems to be that of the Rev. J. L. Krapf, who wrote in the introduction to his *Vocabulary of the Enguduk Eloikob* (1854) that "the Wandorobo are poor people, eating anything they may obtain: they eat the meat of the elephant, and of all other game. They cover their huts with dry grass, not with skins, as the [199] [195] 105

[1] or "clans," as Mr. Hobley calls them.

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

105 Wakuafi [Maasai] do, who therefore boast of their own superior houses. These poor people speak the language of the Wakuafi, but it appears they have also a language of their own, the knowledge of which would undoubtedly enrich the treasury of
114 African philology." Krapf is, of course, writing of Dorôbo in contact with the southern Maasai. The latest contribution to the study of the Dorôbo, that of Maguire in the *Journal of the African Society*, vol. xxviii (1928), is disappointing, and marred by an ignorance of Nandi, a knowledge of which is essential in treating of the Dorôbo. ?/A

101 The actual distribution and sections of the Dorôbo in Kenya and Tanganyika are as follows:—

Kenya Dorôbo.

[197]

1. Kâmelilo-Kâpchepkendi.	In contact with the Nandi-speaking tribes of Nandi, Kamasya, and Kipsikis.
2. Lo-l-diani.	
3. Ravine.	
4. East of Kipsikis.	
5. Chepcharwanek, Kamiek, and Kipkunyek, on the Mau escarpment.	In contact with the Maasai.
6. Nalôtu.	
7. Kidolog.	
8. Digiri.	In contact with Kikuyu-speaking tribes.
9. Nsiwyk and Lalariok, N. of Mt. Kenya (E. Uaso Ngiro).	

Tanganyika Dorôbo.

10. Taturu,[1] lat. 5° S.
11. Mosiro.[2]
12. Arususik.[2]

197 All these sections speak dialects of Nandi, irrespective of the linguistic groups with which they may be in contact. The possession of a Nandi dialect seems to be one of the criteria by which true Dorôbo can be distinguished. (Sketch-map, Text-fig. 2.)

174 The origin of the Dorôbo is uncertain. Those of the Kâmelilo-Kâpchepkendi group do not differ noticeably from the Nandi in physical character, except in one or two details, which are probably due to environment; from this we cannot, therefore, derive much help. Maasai and Nandi traditions point to the Dorôbo having been found by them where they are now, when they first came into this part of eastern

[1] J. T. Last, *Polyglotta Africanæ Orientalis*, p. 108; G. W. B. H. in *Man*, 1928, 120.
[2] R. A. J. Maguire, "El Torobo," in *Journ. African Soc.*, xxvii, pp. 127, 248.

?/A [See source number 2, this file--Analyst]

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

Africa; in the Másai story called "Naiterukop" (Beginner of earth) there were originally three things on earth—an elephant, a snake and a Dorôbo (H.M., p. 366); and in the Nandi story "Tapand' ap emet" (The beginning of the earth) God found three things on earth—an elephant, the thunder, and a Dorôbo (H.N., p. 111). The Dorôbo tradition that "we have always lived here" seems to confirm these stories.

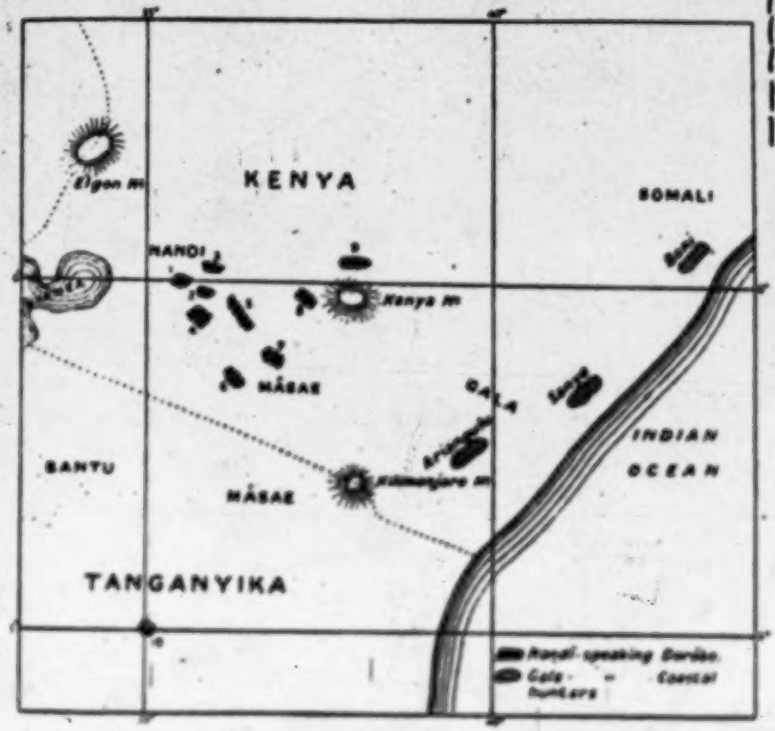


FIG. 2.—SKETCH-MAP OF EASTERN AFRICA, SHOWING DISTRIBUTION OF NANDI-SPEAKING DORÔBO.

stories. Further, Hollis quotes (H.N., p. 90) a tradition of the Moi clan, that a Dorôbo gave birth to a boy and a girl, who issued from a swelling in his leg, and who became the ancestors of "all the people upon earth." We may note that among the Kámelilo-Kápchephondi Dorôbo the chief clan is the Moi or Kolgunyet. Such evidence as we have for the Nandi tribes points to a movement from the north; and since the Dorôbo resemble the Nandi in features, customs, and language, we can only

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 F16 Dorobo F16

174 set forth certain theories as to their origin, which are offered as a starting-point from which to work. The theories are:—

[177] (1) That the Dorôbo are an autochthonous people who were found in East Africa by the Nandi and Masai, and who have assimilated not only the Nandi language, but also some of their customs and religious ideas.

(2) That the Dorôbo are part of the parent-stock of the Masai-Nandi group.

(3) That the Dorôbo are part of the Nandi sub-group, who broke off from the main body very much earlier than the other tribes, and had been separated so long from them that their original relationship had been forgotten by the time they came in contact again.

174 190 To all of these theories there are objections, not the least of which are linguistic. The conclusions arrived at with regard to the origin of a language do not necessarily hold good for the origin of the people who speak it; but in this case the language is almost the only distinguishable feature, and must therefore be taken into consideration. The true Dorôbo language, as now spoken, is closer to Nandi than Suk, and much closer than Masai. It appears that Suk broke off from the main group before the formation of the secondary suffix or "definite article"; Dorôbo and the rest of the Nandi sub-group possess this suffix, which I believe is peculiar to this sub-group. Assuming, then, that the Nandi language passed through a stage with no secondary suffix, of which Suk[1] is the only remaining example—and it must have done so, nouns with primary and secondary suffixes being used side by side, and the secondary suffix being obviously a later development of the primary form—how can we account for either (i) the presence of the secondary suffix in Dorôbo if it was one of the parents of Nandi, since it could hardly be expected that the parent language would be so fully developed as its daughter; or (ii) the absence from Suk of the secondary suffix, and its presence in Dorôbo, if both Dorôbo and Suk were only offshoots from the Nandi Suk-group? Consideration of the facts suggests that the secondary suffix was first used in the Elgon languages (Kony, Sapei, etc.). Language and tradition seem to indicate that perhaps the first theory is the most tenable; yet against it may be urged, why should the Dorôbo have assimilated the language and customs of the Nandi rather than those of the Masai? Should the first theory prove to be correct, we may suppose that the non-Nandi element in the Dorôbo vocabulary represents the language spoken before they came into contact with the Nandi.

000 In the coastal area of Kenya Colony there live other hunting tribes, known as Sanye,[2] Boni,[3] and Aringaulo.[4] These tribes are of a very primitive description.

[1] *i.e.* The Suk subdivision of the Nandi group, comprising the dialects of Suk, Kasia, and Marakwet.

[2] A. Werner in *Journ. E. Africa and Uganda Nat. Hist. Soc.*, 1913, p. 36, n.; *Man*, 1913, 107.

[3] R. E. Seidel in *Man*, 1909, 96.

[4] C. W. Hobley in *Man*, 1912, 9; A. H. Champion in *Journ. E. Africa and Uganda Nat. Hist. Soc.*, 1925, p. 21.

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FLÁ Dorobo FLÁ

The Sanye and Ariangulo have been in subjection to the Gala, and speak dialects of Gala; the Bóni hunt for the Somali. They call themselves Watta or Watwa (the Gala call the Sanye, Wanya, pl. Watwa), which is also the name of a hunting people in Abyssinia who speak Gala but have also a language of their own.[1] They count themselves as the original inhabitants of Abyssinia. The Abyssinian Watta, the Sanye, Bóni, Ariangulo, Midgan of Somali, together with the Dume S.W. of Lake Stephanie, and the Wapare of Kilimanjaro, are claimed by R. Hinsti[2] to be connected with the Dorobo. And it is not impossible to identify the people called UATAT in the "Inscription of Una" (VIth dynasty, King Pepi I) with these modern Watta, of which the stem is possibly WA-, and the T a plural suffix. If we may accept this identification, the traditional antiquity of the hunting tribes is confirmed.

The old men give the following account of their past history:—

Ka-ki-menye	ulí-tak	kiremwe-eku	olokinye-takul,	kimí
We-dwell	here	country-these	of-old-always,	there-were
Monk	kemwa-i	kewanní	ak	Ipkwepek
the-Nandi	side-this	open-country-this	and	the-Uasin-Gishu-Masai
olgotet.	Olokinye	kimí	Kápchepkwen	olle-po
the-plain.	Of-old	there-were	the-Siokwo	there-of (-ot)
olle-kuní	po	Soiát[3]	ke-pek-ye	kony.
there-down	of	Soiát	they-are-lost	long-ago.

kemwa-eku takul
country-these all

Ma-ki-ere kíl'-eke.
Not-we-know thing-other.

["We have always lived in this country: the Nandi were on one side, in the open country, the Uasin-Gishu Masai on the other side in the plain. Of old, the 'Siokwo' lived in the plain of Soiát below. We do not know anything else."]

At the present day the Kimollio-Kápchepkendi Dorobo do not seem to be very numerous or very flourishing. A number have left the depths of the forest and live on the edge (*comparatively up onward*). They assign as their reason for leaving the forest, the hardships consequent upon an epidemic of disease (*kwoin*, N.), which was probably small-pox: the elders of the *Kápchelach* age say this happened when they were warriors, *i.e.* somewhere about 1880, when the Masai suffered heavily from this disease. When we visited Dorobo huts in the forest, we were told that there were very few huts in that part of the forest. I suspect the Dorobo like to make it seem that few live in the forest.

[1] R. Cavalli, "The Folk-literature of the Galla of Southern Abyssinia" (*Harvard African Studies, III*) p. 200; Massaja, "I suoi trenta cinque anni di missione nell' alta Etiopia."

[2] *Bull. Soc. Geogr. Ital.*, Roma, s. 3, vol. vi, p. 170.

[3] Soiát was one of the Nandi constituents, or "countries," which was cut off after the Nandi Punitive Expedition of 1905. It included the Dorobo country, and also the plain at the foot of the Nandi escarpment from Mukoroni to Kibos, which latter area the Nandi still refer to as Soiát.

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1918):1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

II.—Huts or Shelters.

Kenya.

242 [361] The Dorobo live in little shelters or huts (*kwikenyet*, pl. *kwikenyeiik*; N. *kwiet*) built in small clearings in the forest; they are made of a framework of sticks stuck in the ground, and bent over, forming a domed roof; the whole is covered on the outside with leaves of trees and banana leaves, which are insufficient, in spite of the addition of an ox-hide on the top, to keep the hut dry inside when it rains. The upright sticks are strengthened by sharp tied across them with tree-rope. The huts are oblong, with rounded ends, and are of the following average dimensions:—Height, 5 ft. 10 ins.; width, 7 ft. 6 ins.; length, 11 ft. They are occupied for two or three months, after which they become ruinous and "full of fleas," when the family moves to a fresh site. Two to four people live in one hut. One group of huts we saw contained two huts, and but contained a third which had been pulled down. The huts are divided into two parts, the *sleeping-place* (*ilibin*, N.) and the *fire-place*, which are separated by two or three poles laid across the floor of the hut, on one side of which are laid ox-hides (*metaik*; N. *meiwek*), upon which the occupants eat and sleep; at night they cover themselves with skins. In the other half of the hut is the door (*kwokot*, N.), about 2 ft. high. Some huts have two doors, opposite each other. Between the door and the sleeping-place in the hearth (*mik*, N.), consisting of two or three smallish stones on the floor. A loft (*meinet*, N.) is sometimes made in this part of the hut, extending across the width, and ending at the beginning of the sleeping-place. The loft is about 2 ft. 6 ins. above the floor, and is made of thin sticks supported on thicker cross-sticks, and tied together with tree-rope. Upon it are kept firewood and shooting gear (Text-figs. 30-32). The only household utensils are a small broom (*sebutiet*) about 14 ins. long, made of a hawk-hawk's tail fastened to a thin wooden handle, for sweeping the floor; "water jars" (*saiget*) made of a hollowed piece of bamboo about 2½ ins. wide and 2 ft. 6 ins. long; a grindstone (*kitin*, I.) made of granite, for sharpening knives, and for grinding shooting gear. Gourds and earthenware pots are obtained from the Nandi; the Dorobo have no stools. Fire is produced by means of fire-sticks (*pitiet*; N. *pitwet*) (Text-figs. 33a, 33b). A thin rod of the sharwet tree (N.)[1] about 10 ins. long and ½ in. thick, is stood upright on a stick of cedar (*meiff* about 20 ins. long and 1 in. wide. The thin stick is called *pitiet*, the cedar stick *tamenet*. The *pitiet* is held between the palms of the hands, and the hands are rapidly rubbed together, beginning at the top of the *pitiet* and moving downwards (Pl. XXVI, Fig. 2). This is repeated until fire is obtained; the *pitiet* drills a hole in the *tamenet*, and the heated wood-dust thus produced falls on to a bark-cloth which is placed underneath. When sufficient heat is obtained it is let on a small handful of tinder (*saiget* (dry grass) or fibre of the *pashwoff* tree), and blown till the tinder kindles.

[1] Not identified.

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FLA Dorobo FLA

411
412
415

[illegible]

3:Huntingford E-S (1921-1948)329 FLA Dorobo FLA

Hunting.

224 The chief occupation and, in fact, till the last few years, the only occupation of the Dorobo, is hunting (*ngaa*: Kony., *kip-ngaa-tuo* = hunter). They say that at the present day they do not hunt as much as they used to. All kinds of animals were the objects of the chase; the buffalo (*Kipsuswek*; T. *sosi*), rhinoceros (*Kipkwoi*), leopard (*mutiba*, T.), lion (*amdet*; Agatuiuk T.) giant pig (*tumbo*, T.) were among the bigger game hunted. Various kinds of monkeys and antelopes are also sought after, both for their skins and their meat. (See "Food" for a list of the animals eaten by the Dorobo.)

[411] [398] The weapons used in the chase are the bow (*kapsiyâk*, T.) and arrow (*kitet*, T.; *ndumati*), etc.), and spears (*chesowindit*?). Arrows and spears for hunting are poisoned with a concoction made from the *kiliot* tree (T.)[1]. Formerly, before the elephant disappeared from the Tinderet region it was hunted and killed with poisoned spears. Small game, besides being shot, are also caught in traps and snares, of which the Dorobo have two kinds; buffalo are also caught in the first kind: (1) *Pits* (*ngoret*), covered with thin sticks and leaves, with spikes (*kipsongiyiot*) set in the bottom. (2) *Snares* (*pardoo*; T. *ruset*) (Text-fig. 10), which are constructed as follows: a springy stick, A, is stuck in the ground and bent over; to the upper end is fastened a piece of tree-rope, B, which is loosely attached to a looped stick stuck in the ground, supported by three short upright sticks; a little loose above the bent stick A is fastened a snare made from the sisendiyot tree, which is held in place by a cleft stick stuck in the ground on each side; under the snare is made a little platform of sticks, which is covered with leaves. When this platform is touched, since it is in contact with the stick holding the rope B, it releases the rope, and the stick A flies up, thereby tightening the snare.

[33] *Dogs* (*kyâkin*, pl. *kyâkik*) are used in hunting, and are the only animals kept by the Dorobo who live in the forest. When in the forest they wear leather collars, to which are attached, under the throat, a small bell. The dogs seem to be of a different breed to the ordinary Nandi cur: all common in native enclosures, and they are kept in better condition. Their movements round the huts raise the alarm of anything in the neighbourhood of a Dorobo hut, and scare the six unpleasant.

A description of the weapons is given on p. 346 below.

Food.

846 136 The staple foods of the Dorobo are honey (*koonin*, T.) and meat (*ponyet*, T.). For meat they kill the following animals:—

Antelopes.

Kipkemdoet (T. *kimoongor*).—Blue duiker (*Cephalophus equatorialis*).
Mwekat (T.).—Red duiker (*C. ignotus*).

[1] *Acocanthera friburgensis*.

[illegible]
Economic (E. gelsoni)—Black-back (Fregetta melena).
Indicator (E. indicator)—Boat-back.
Kingfisher (E.)—Kelly.
Kingsmouth (E.)—Prince-back (Calico albigularis).

Rockjays.

Rufous (E. leucogaster)—Whistler (Pachycephala gutturalis).
Pitohui (E.)—(Crinigerifrons albigularis).
Thornbill (E.)—(Crinigerifrons gutturalis).
Grantchester (E. rosea)—Robins.

Other Genera.

Fantail (E.)—White-gig (Rhipidura albiscapa).
Treegrip (E.)—Black-gig.
Mudlark (E.)—Longbill.
Grantchester (E. leucocephala)—Coles.
Raven (E.)—Redback.
Pitohui (E.)—Magpielark.

[illegible] Of other kinds of food, they use bananas (plantain (E.), fruit (e.g. bandicoot, such as those of the monocotyledonous (E.) plant), Indian rice-bird, sweetsop (cane (E.), Rhipidura gouldiae), and other wild grasshopper.

They make many kinds (peanut, E. gouldii), E. melanogaster (Cocos-fig, E.), in which the bee-eaters. The kernels are made either of rough skins of the bandicoot (E. bandicoot) tree, or of wide strips of bark bark. The ends of the kernels are made of slender blades of wood, which keep the skins in place, the skins being bored evenly with two-eyes. A hole large enough to admit the hand is left in the middle of the kernel and stuffed with a handful of leaves. The kernel is placed on folded branches, the hole being to the under side. If the bee is a tall one, a gate is bored in it with two-eyes, by which the lower blades in the kernel.

[illegible] To take honey, the Gnatbo first makes fire in a bee hall of wagon (Bee), he goes into under the garments, and taking some leaves of the Gigagaum (E.) tree in which to keep the honey, climbs up to the kernel. The wagon is blown till it makes a good smoke, and the kernels of leaves being there removed from the kernel, the smoking wagon is left in the hole in the kernel. Having waited a little, the Gnatbo leaves the kernel and removes the honey-comb (Gigantogaum) from the kernel, which he wraps in the Gigagaum leaves. Closing the hole, he hurriedly and everything about very hot-stings he may receive.

[illegible] In times of plenty, food is eaten in the morning or midday, and in the evening. If there is no food, the people go hungry and rest till more is produced. The women

[illegible]

[illegible]
grapes-leaf and rock upon the tree, themselves eating when the nuts have finished, for the present day the Dorothea are taking to eating chestnut-grain, which is crushed on grindstones (Nalla, S.) and made into a sort of porridge; and milk, which they obtain from Kazuli, if there are any near them. Beer is made from honey, and is called Kyhshuli (S.). Tobacco (nemaka, S.; or shuphukaka?) is brought from the Kazuli, and is taken by men, and occasionally by women. It is either chewed (zuri, S.) or smoked in Kirchmanic pipes (pothuli-ngo-kamaka, or kamaluli, S.), which are also obtained from the Kazuli. The men every tobacco (a-phukaka) have called Agwamti (S. Agwam) (Text-fig. 19), made from wood-pulp (kamaluwa), with skin coverings for the ends, to which are attached thin leather thongs, by which the box is slung round the neck.

[illegible]

[illegible]

Agriculture and Stock.

Formerly the Dorothea possessed no stock, nor did they till the ground. During the last quarter of a century or so a few of them living on the edge of the forest have taken to cultivating small plantations (zuhuwa, S.), in which they grow chestnut-grain (pikuzuli), or paizi (S. pili) only. A few possess, at the present day, one or two cows, whose have a few goats and sheep; no one has more than 8 to 10 head. The only animals they possess in numbers are dogs.

[illegible]

[illegible]

Dress and Ornaments.

(i) *Males.*—Boys wear skins of antelopes and monkeys (phuzia; S. kapuzia). Warriors wear skin garments of leather (ngamanga,* S.) called shuzia; they wear leg-bells attached to a leather band (ngalilla,* pl. ngalilakuli) on the ankles. Grenadiers wear gloves of cotton-cloth (nagai, S.) dyed brown.* Old men wear back-back skins (phuzia) with the fur left on. Caps (ngazuli*) are worn, of fine leather skin with the fur left on, by old men, and of cotton-cloth by warriors. Belts (zaiwuli*) of leather are worn by old men, and of beads by boys and warriors. Necklaces of shells (pimala, S.) or bone-wire (pulugai, S.) are worn; also various kinds of bone ear-rings (shaiwaziai) and bracelets (Text-figs. 13-17); S. bracelets are worn by warriors and elders.

(ii) *Females.*—The dress of the women and girls is very similar to that of Kazuli women. They wear skirts (shuphuigai; S. shuphuzi) and upper garments (kaliko, S.); both of tanned leather, with the fur removed, in the same manner as the Kazuli women. Their ornaments consist of bone wire armlets and leglets (nadi-ambuli and kanti, S.) and wire necklaces (pulugai, pl. aulugalakuli, S.). Married women wear

* Shuphululi means "skull" in Kazuli.

* These are similar to the Kazuli cotton-boxes, from which indeed they are probably borrowed.

* As in the Kazuli, from whom doubtless the custom spread to the Dorothea.

299
301 large discs of bone wire (bat, pl. ndi), which are hung from the ears by leather strings (nenike; X. nenike), to which are frequently fastened one or two cowries (ndenidi; X. ndendi) (Text-fig. 10). These ear-rings are, as among the Dandi, the sign of marriage. Girls wear discs (ebenini) as cloth (engai). They have anklets (kenti, X.) and leglets (ndegudeni; X. ngudeni) of iron-wire, and necklaces of wire or beads (neingai). The edges of skin garments, both of men and women, are generally trimmed and stitched.

Mutilations of the Body.

304 (a) *Ears.*—In both sexes a small hole (ngadeni; Kamy ngadeni) is found in the top of the ear. This among the Dandi is the tribal mark, and it seems to be so among the Dorobo. Both sexes also pierce the lobes of the ears, and elongate them by inserting cylindrical blocks of wood (kenti ng'ati, X.), as among the Dandi. Ear-rings are hung from the lobes, which in the case of men are often broken by being
[301] caught by branches in the forest.

(b) *Teeth.*—Some Dorobo remove the two middle incisors of the lower jaw, like the Dandi and other tribes; others do not. This is done, they say, "so the forearm of girls" (in order that people may become beautiful).

(c) *Sexual Organs.*—Circumcision and clitoridectomy are practised. (See V., "Circumcision.")

Hair.

302 Men wear their hair moderately long; they put oil and red clay (ngarua; X.) on the hair, which sometimes becomes matted, as men often do Dandi, particularly women. The head is shaved periodically. Boys put red clay and oil on the shaved head. Both old men and senior warriors wear beards and moustaches, though to no greater extent than the Dandi. In some old men the beard is even trimmed and painted. Girls and women shave their heads periodically, and put oil on the shaved heads.

Paint.

Warriors paint their legs with red and white clay, as do the Dandi; they also put red clay on their heads.

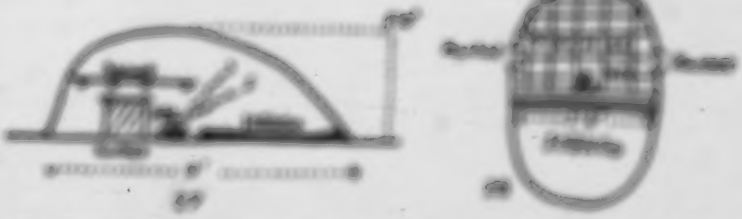
Arts and Crafts.

305 The Dorobo have few crafts of their own. They have no knowledge of metal-
[439] lurgy, and there are no smiths; all their ironwork is obtained from the Dandi.

(a) Weapons of Chase and War.

411 These consist of bows (ingerigiki), arrows (ilitoi, ingoritoi, ingoitigoroi, X.; and ndoroti); spears (ekeremokiti or ereremokiti); swords (nemiki; or ninti, X.); shields (ndigei, X.); and knives (ekenekitoi, X.). Spears, swords, and shields are obtained from the Dandi.

[illegible]



[illegible]

411 Bows.—These are made from the bamboo (P.) tree, and average 3 ft. 1 in. in height. The string (see P.) which is made from the sinews of the given (N) animals, P.) is tied on the bow (Form fig. 1).

[illegible] Arrows.—The bow heads (Kaddiyan) are bought from the Bhatti, and are usually of two kinds (known as [illegible]). Form fig. 2 and Kaddiyan (Form fig. 3) (P.G. Figs. 43, 44). They are from 2½ feet to 3 feet long. They are always bought, and are inserted in a slit made in the wood shaft (Form fig. 4) and bound with fibre or [illegible] powder. The shafts are made of the bamboo (bambusa) species, and [illegible] bamboo, and are on average length of 2 ft. There are three feathers (Kaman) P.) which are split and trimmed, and fastened to the shaft by a splendid [illegible] and (Form fig. 5). The shaft immediately above the feathers is bound with [illegible] thread, the same passed is [illegible] and bound over the shoulder with a [illegible] thread. The length of the feathers is 3 ins. to 4½ ins. Arrows are kept in a [illegible] (Form fig. 10) (number 5) , [illegible] of feathers, and about 2 ft. 6½ ins. long, with a [illegible] cap and a strap for carrying it round the body. (See the practice exercised by Kuvilis for shooting with the feet, see P.G. P. 111.)

412 Quivers.—The bow feathers are bought from the Bhatti. They vary in length from 2 ins. to 3½ ins., and one-fourth ½ ins. wide. The feathers are taken in the [illegible] of wood, with spiked handles and is fitted, and are cut with [illegible], which is generally cut by means of [illegible] they were brought for sale. The feathers are worked in feather [illegible] (Kaman) P.) which are obtained in two or [illegible] (Form fig. 6).

(2) Leather

[illegible] Bags are [illegible] and [illegible] and [illegible], [illegible] varieties of these are [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] and bags. The ordinary type of bag is called [illegible]. It is used for various purposes, [illegible] carrying [illegible] , for [illegible] bags, the [illegible] [illegible] bags for carrying other things are made of [illegible] skin, e.g. [illegible] [illegible] leather, [illegible] the fur left on, and bags in other forms, which are fastened by a [illegible] and [illegible] round the bag (Form fig. 14). They are strong from the [illegible] by a [illegible] [illegible]. Small bags are about 7 ins. by 4½ ins., others are larger.

(3) [illegible] (Kaman) (P.)

[illegible] These are made by the [illegible]. They resemble [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

together. The ribs is made of a single stitch band to an oval and the ends bound together; central to an [illegible] groove of knowledge? Saddlebrowse (Gallo, K.) have already been mentioned.

The Scarlet have an knowledge of metallurgy and they have an evolved bronze, gold, pottery, an apparently, objects of luxury. Metal work and pottery they had from the South?

Fruit and Crossovers

Fruits is by farmer. The Scarlet grow the South bushes, linseed skins, and have to exchange for [illegible], tobacco, pottery, foods, and other commodities which they cannot produce themselves. There are no special market places, but guilds are taken to any place where there are South, and there exchanged.

Land

(i) Powers.—The forest is divided by the above two systems, and each family has its own section of forest. The boundaries between family holdings may be garden or trees.

(ii) Geographical Divisions.—The Scarlet divide their country into divisions called lands (p. [illegible] (K.). The chief divisions appear to be called Highlands, Mines, Knowledge, Eastern (southern, N. wheat), and Midnights. The majority of the present place names are South.

The names of the emigrant are called as follows:—Knight and South; Mouse (K.); South; Fortress (K. attendance = age. Water; The lake as (= already the main) Seaward-Soldiers).

(iii)—Government.

The Scarlet-Schlesinghand Scarlet have over an chief. The last is held often was Parliament? every Figurehead, who was chief at the time of the South Pacific Expedition, 1840. He is still alive, though he no longer holds office. The chief was elected, and his office was hereditary. The chief [illegible] (Commandfive) was chosen for "Nightingale Wife" (" tongue wife" = wives, ability and qualities). The only form of Government that exists now is a council of elders (known as [illegible] K.), who meet and decide on matters which are brought to them. They seem to have a little power of enforcing decisions or their decisions, though they have

[illegible] is identical and Seaward, although it is a South we have K.K. have an analogy to.

[illegible] as of Cross, as K. "Beachhouse" [illegible] was hardly to maintain a town name a South.

[illegible] = Scarlet.

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

3:Hastingford E-5 0921-1918|1929 FLA Dorobo FLA

When a man is ill and dies, it is said that had with (with the gods, X.) have killed him; if he recovers, a good minister has saved him. No offerings are made to the had with.

There is also a vague belief in a future life. A man's spirit is said to go underneath to the layer up with (X.), or land of the spirits, which is under the earth, and is a bad place.

Magic.

There are magicians (*yandinkit*, pl. *yandi*, X.) who are bad, and who persuade people how getting bad by means of their spells. There are also diviners (*ombajat*, pl. *ombaji*, X.)[1]. There is no equivalent of the modern Bantu system of "witch-smell" or ordeal by a medicine-man.

Medicines and Charms.

(a) *Medicines.*—For snake-bite, the gum of the thorn tree is used, mixed with the honey of a species of bee, called "kwenyeit" (X.), and rued's fat. This concoction is rubbed on the affected part, and a little is also eaten. For coughs, a plant called "ngotin" is chewed; this is used for all chest complaints.

(b) *Charms.*—Children wear a charm to ward off the evil eye (*sukut*, X.), which is similar to that worn by Bantu children. It consists of a necklace of seeds of the lapogwonit tree (*E. lugwonit*) strung on a cord, the seeds being separated by short pieces of bamboo (*Text-fig. 94*). Old men wear a charm to keep away thunderbolts (*kwalbenget*, or *kwesin* (*kwesin*), X.); it is made of two small pieces of the stranded wood about 1 in. long, which are tied to the belt (*Text-fig. 19*).

V.—Marriage, Inheritance.

Social Divisions.

The male sex is divided into boys (*kipsiik*, X.), warriors (*murenik*, X.), and old men (*pesiotik*, or *ngotiotik*, X.); the female sex, into girls (*kipsi*, X.) and women (*kwenik*, or *chepsinik*, X.). An elementary, a boy becomes a warrior and a girl a woman.

Married and unmarried people sleep separately. Married people and small children sleep in the same hut, while unmarried men sleep elsewhere, often in the adjoining (X.), or "warriors' hut," where they cohabit with the unmarried girls. Though free love is practised, it is not carried to such an extent as among the Kwafi, and although girls sleep with warriors, they like to preserve their virginity till circumcision. Warriors frequently marry their sweethearts' parents. If accused, charges in Kwafi they usually marry someone else.

The position of women is the same as it is among the Kwafi, that is, they work on the land, do all the menial work, and are their husband's property.

[1] This word is not used with the same sense in Kwafi, originally it means a love-sweet magic "medicine-man" (Kwafi) signage.

[2] Explosive consonants.

3:Huntingford E-1 (1921-1938)/1929 FLA Dorobo FLA

Clans.

614 The Dorobo have eight clans (*pet*, pl. *ortomik*, N.), which correspond in eight of the Nandi clans :—

Clans.	Totems.	Meaning.	Corresponding Nandi Clans.
1. Kut	Kakamega (S.)	Crested crane	Kut.
2. Kipkoiyo	Kimalel bird	Baboon	Kipkoiyo.
3. Kipsiyot	Tiyoret (S.)	Small grey	Kipsiyot.
4. Kipkemoi	Muyenyet (S.)	Bee	Kipkemoi.
5. Tuket	Kwalel	Lion	Tuket.
6. Kipsis	Kipsisiondo	Ants	Kipsis.
7. Kipsingol	Kongonindoi	Partridge	Kipsingolik.
8. Kimaiyo	Ainos (S.)	The sun	Kipsiro.

The Kut clan is the most numerous.

Circumcision Ages.

561 There are seven circumcision ages (*kiruka*, pl. *kiruwogik*), which have the same names as in Nandi ; the intervals between the ages are about 11 years, and they succeed one another in a recurring cycle of about 76 years, as in Nandi, except that the fourth intervals are 10 years (formerly 7½ years). The present order of the ages, and their names, are as follows[1] :—

1. Sawe (very old men)	...	...	...	Circumcised about 1877		
2. Kipkabaet	...	...	...	,,	,,	1887
3. Kipkitbak	...	...	...	,,	,,	1897
4. Kimnyike	...	...	...	,,	,,	1907
5. Nyongi (warriors)	...	...	...	,,	,,	1917
6. Maina (boys)	...	...	...	Circumcision due 1927		
7. Sawe (small children)	...	...	...	,,	,,	1937

The old men speak of an eighth age, Kipsyoiyo or Kipsoiyo, which has fallen out of use.

Each age is divided into three divisions (*mat*, pl. *matinwek* (N.) or *kit*), which are called :—

1. *Sawe*.—*Chemgisiek* | (N.) *Chelgisiek*, or (*Sawe-ngot*).
2. *Kipkitbak*.—*Ngaseik* | (N.) *Kipsikibeig*.[2]
3. *Kimnyike*.—*Kwondusiek* | (N.) *Kipsiro*.[3]

[1] In Nandi, *Kipsingol* is a "monthly" name for the Kimnyike class. It would have of no more than the eight class-names.

[2] "*Kipsikibeig*."

[3] See G. W. B. Huntingford, *J. R. A. I.*, 1929, p. 449 (6).

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)929 FLA Dorobo FLA

Names.

Before a child is born, the spirit of an ancestor is called upon, and the child receives the name of that ancestor, which he retains throughout his life.[1] An elderly widow, a man becomes *Arap* (*asoma*), "father of (the-such-as)," e.g. a boy named Kipsei, whose father's name is Kimitilig, becomes Kipsei arap (Kip)imitilig, and is known as *Arap* (Kip)imitilig. Both the ascendine and feminine names are mostly Nandi.

Circumcision. (Plate V.)

The customs connected with circumcision seem to be very similar to those of the Nandi. Boys are circumcised at intervals of about two years; the ceremony takes place after harvest, about October, when extra food is bought from the Nandi; the actual operation is performed in the early morning. In the case of girls, a circumcision is held when there are sufficient girls in a district of an age to be circumcised; only the clitoris is removed. Circumcision, as among the Nandi, and in ancient Egypt, is a form of initiation into manhood or womanhood, and is preparatory to marriage.

Marriage.

It is usual for Dorobo to have only one wife, as they are unable to support more. The price of a wife is paid chiefly in honey-wine. Before marriage the suitor gives to the girl's father an unsh honey-wine: "as four women can carry." He also gives the parents honey-wine year by year after marriage, and he must give the father rugs (*sambut*, pl. *sambutsiek*) made of the skin of the black monkey (*Colobus abyssinicus*). Nowadays, if a Dorobo has any cattle, he sometimes takes a second wife.

Death.

When a Dorobo dies, his body is taken out into the forest, about 200 to 300 yards from his hut, and left for the hyenas (*kimaridet*) to devour.

Miscellaneous.

When a Dorobo shoots a gazelle, he spits in the direction of the gazelle, with or without saying "*Kongoi*" ? (" Thanks ").

The Dorobo call each other to the forest by blowing horns of reed-buck (*kimalit*, ?).

Salutations:—

(a) Of greeting:—To men, "*Ingoi*"; answer, "*Chem-ik*" (*kwelik*). To girls and women, "*Ilikwongo*"; answer, "*Igi*."

(b) Of farewell:—"*Amuren*" (good-bye); answer, "*Amuren ak ingo*" (good-bye to them), or, "*Amuren ak ainek*" (good-bye to you).

Except "*Chem-ik*" the answers to "*Ingoi*" there are the same as in Nandi.

Huntingford E-1 (1921-1928)1929 FLA Dorobo FLA

VI.—Language.

197 The language of the Dorobo is in structure a dialect of Nandi, which belongs, in point of development, to a stage between the Elgon dialects (Kony, Sapei, etc.) and Kipsikis (or Lumbwa). While many of the words are either (i) more or less the same as in Nandi, or (ii) the same as in other dialects of Nandi, a number of words do not belong to the Nandi group at all, nor have I been able to trace them in other languages; the assumption is that they represent the remains of the original Dorobo language. Masai (especially Uasin Gishu) has also contributed to the vocabulary.

Grammar.

193 *Letters.*—The spelling is the same as that used in Mr. A. C. Hollis's book. As in Nandi, *k* is often lenthened to a *g* sound; in such cases it is written *k*; *t* sometimes lengthens to a *s* sound. There is in some words a lateral *s* sound, here written *ss*, for which Nandi has *s*; the lateral *ss* sound which Hollis heard in Tinganyiko appears here as *tl*". I could hear no trace of the replacement of *y* by *s* which he also heard. (*J.R.I.*, *p.* xxviii.)

194 *Accent.*—The accent is equal on all syllables, as in Nandi.

Substantives.—As in Nandi, nouns have a primary form (without "definite article") and a secondary form (with "definite article").

The secondary suffix, or "definite article": (i) *sing.*, *-it*, *-ig*, *-in*, *-ik*, *-ir*; (ii) *pl.*, *-ek*, *-ok*, *-ik*, *-ek*.

Formation of the plural.

The general rules for the formation of the plural are as follows:—

(i)

When the sing. endings are *-it*, *-ig(a)*, the *pl.* ends in *-ech*:—

Singular		Plural		English.
Primary.	Secondary.	Primary.	Secondary.	

(ii)

When the sing. endings are *-it*, *-in*, *-ir*, *-ik(a)*, the *pl.* ends in *-ech*:—

* Through *ss* normally, *s* in Nandi.

193

(ii)

English	Plural		English
Primary	Secondary	Primary	Secondary
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

(iv)

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

(v)

(a) [illegible]

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

(b) [illegible]

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

(vi)

[illegible]

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

(vii)

[illegible]

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible]

Hemingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FLA Dorobo FLA

(viii.)

193 The -ni, -ini, -ini, is sometimes followed by a pl. -wi-ki, as in Kwafi :—

Singular.		Plural.		English.
Primary.	Secondary.	Primary.	Secondary.	
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

(ix.)

Where -ding, -nde in -ne, -ne, -ne, or -ne, the pl. generally ends in -n-ki :—

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

(x.)

The -ending, as in Kwafi, are irregular :—

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

Adjectives.—The pl. of adjectives is usually formed by the suffix -wi-ki or -wi-ki, as in Kwafi :—

[illegible], -, pl. [illegible].
[illegible], -, pl. [illegible].
[illegible], -, pl. [illegible].
[illegible], -, pl. [illegible].
[illegible].
[illegible].
[illegible], -, pl. [illegible].
[illegible], -, pl. [illegible].
[illegible], -, pl. [illegible].
[illegible], -, pl. [illegible].

[illegible], long, [illegible], pl. [illegible].
[illegible], -, pl. [illegible].
[illegible], -, pl. [illegible].
[illegible], -, pl. [illegible].
[illegible].
[illegible], -, pl. [illegible].
[illegible], -, pl. [illegible].
[illegible], -, pl. [illegible].
[illegible], -, pl. [illegible].

[illegible]

[illegible]

143

Pronouns.—(1.) Personal :—

Used absolutely.		Object : verbal suffix.	
Ane, *I*	Anikik, *we*	-ne, *me*	-nik, *us*
Inye, *thou*	Ainwik, *you*	-in, *thee*	-inik, *you*
Inendet, *he, she*	Inikinik, *they*		

(2.) Possessive, suffixed as in Kwafi :—The same rules for the changing of letters apply :—

With the Singular.	With the Plural.	English.	With the Singular.	With the Plural.	English.
-ak	-akik	*my*	-ank	-ankik	*mine*
-ak	-akik	*thy*	-ank	-ankik	*thine*
-ake	-akik	*his*	-anke	-ankik	*his*
-ake	-akik	*her*	-anke	-ankik	*hers*
-akiny	-akik	*our*	-ankiny	-ankik	*ours*
-ain	-akik	*your*	-ainy	-ankik	*yours*

(3.) Demonstrative, suffixed :—The same rules apply as in Kwafi for the changing of letters with the use of these :—

English.	Plural.	English.
(1) -ek, *this*	-ek	-ek, *these*
(2) -ekin, *that*	-ekik	-ekik, *those*
(3) -ek, *it*	-ek	-ek, *these*
(4) -ekin, *yon*	-ekik	-ekik, *those*

Nos. (3) and (4) are demonstratives of relative remoteness.

(4.) Demonstratives of place :—

English.	Plural.	English.
Here	-ik	*Here*
Yon	-ikik	*Yon*

(5) Demonstrative pronouns may be intensified by means of the suffix -ne or -nik, e.g. -ek-nik (*these very ones*) ; -ek-nik (*or these very plants*).

(6.) Relatives :—*Ring, -ne ; pl., -nik.*

(7.) Interrogatives :—

Kip ?	*How many?*	Kon ?	*How?*
Ka ?	*What? What are it?*	Kyi ?	*Why?*
Anyoto ?	*Who?*	Kaaro ne ?	*Why?*

3:Huntingford E-S (1921-1938)1929 FLA Dorobo FLA

802 *Numerals.*—These are the same as in Nandi:—

Akonge or akonge	..	..	1	Tomon	..	..	10
Okeky	..	..	2	Tomon ak akonge	..	..	11
Ansok	..	..	3	Tiyion	..	..	20
Angwan	..	..	4	Gomo	..	..	30
Sibi	..	..	5	Ansok	..	..	40
Le	..	..	6	Kwanu	..	..	50
Tiony	..	..	7	Pokol	..	..	60
Aiabi	..	..	8	Pokol ainky 100 (anything over 60)			
Ankol	..	..	9				

803 *Verbs.*—The conjugation of verbs is very similar to that in Nandi. The present has a suffix *-o* or *-i*; and a minor change to *a-* in the present tense. The negative prefix is *ma, me, mo*. When the 1st and 2nd pers. sing. and pl. are used as the object, direct or indirect, they are suffixed to the verb:—

a-mark-in, I meet him
i-mark-a, then meetest me.
a-mark-ok, you meet us
a-mark-ak, I meet you.

When the verb-stem begins with *i*, the *i* is omitted under the same conditions as in Nandi.

Conjugation.

Active Voice.

ee 'I strike'—*kong* (*ki*) *fallen.*

Present.

Affirmative		Negative	
S. 1. a-kong'-i	P. 1. a-kong'-ok	S. 1. ma-kong'-i	P. 1. ma-kong'-ok
2. i-kong'-i	2. i-kong'-ok	2. mi-kong'-i	2. mi-kong'-ok
3. kong'-i	3. kong'-ik	3. mo-kong'-i	3. mo-kong'-ik

Past.

Affirmative		Negative	
S. 1. ne-a-kong	P. 1. ne-a-kong	S. 1. ne-ki-kong	P. 1. ne-ki-kong
2. ne-i-kong	2. ne-i-kong	2. ne-ki-kong	2. ne-ki-kong
3. ne-kong	3. ne-kong	3. ne-ki-kong	3. ne-ki-kong

Affirmative		Negative	
S. 1. a-kon	P. 1. a-kon	S. 1. ma-kong	P. 1. ma-kong
2. kon	2. i-kon	2. mi-kong	2. mi-kong
3. kon-ay	3. kon-ik	3. mo-kong	3. mo-kong

Imperative

Affirmative		Negative	
Sing. kong		Sing. kong, kong-ok	
Plur. kong-ok		Plur. kong, kong-ok	

193

93

193

GB2 **G. V. S. Overview – Modern Greece – Some Account of**

Adverbs are given in the secondary singular. Where words (N.) are given in the singular. Where a word is the same as in Greek, the letter (F.) is affixed. Where a word is apparently original (native), the letter (O.) is affixed.

Afternoon	... ...	Apógeo (O.)
Animal	... ...	Zóyo (Greek); pl. Zoyá (Zoyá) (N.)
Arabic	... ...	Arabiko (Greek); pl. Arabiká (Arabiká) (N.)
Art –		
Black	... ...	mavró (mavrón); pl. mavrá (mavrón) (N.)
White	... ...	leyko (leykon); pl. ne (leiá) (N.)
Arm-Chair	... ...	Kátho (kátoni); pl. Káthe (kátoni) (N.)
Astrology –		
Book-book	...	Astrenol (Astrenolá); pl. Astrenolá (Astrenolá) (N.)
Author	... ...	Syngrafeyo (Syngrafeyá); pl. Syngrafeá (Syngrafeá), fm. Syngrafeyiss-ka
Author, fem	...	Syngrafeo (Syngrafeá); pl. Syngrafeá (Syngrafeá)
Author, not	...	aftoto (aftotó); pl. aftotá (aftotá) (N.)
Avoid-book	...	Aftoto (Aftotó); pl. Aftotá (Aftotá) (N.)
Ancient-book	...	Syngrafeyo (Syngrafeyá); pl. Syngrafeá (Syngrafeá) (N.)
Axe	... ...	Ske (Skéne); pl. Skéne (Skéne). fr. Skéne = Sparing. fm. Sceipo.
Axe, fem	... ...	skéne (skéne); pl. skéne (skéne) (N.)
Axegal	... ...	skéfteri (skéfteria); pl. skéfteria (skéfteria) (N.)
Cancer	... ...	skéneni (skéneni); pl. skéneni (skéneni) (N.)
		Gáto (Gáton); pl. Gáti (Gáton) (N.)
		Agelláyo (Agelláyon); pl. Agelláyo (Agelláyon) (N.)
		Gáyaro (Gáyaron); pl. Gáyaro (Gáyaron) (N.)
Arrow-head		Agelláyo
Arrow-hunting		skeri (skeriá); pl. skeriá (skeriá) (N.)
Arbor	... ...	aftoyeyo (aftoyeyá) (N.)
Art	... ...	aftó (aftón); pl. aftá (aftón); fr. = aftó
Ash	... ...	aspro (aspró); pl. aspró (aspró) (N.)
Bay	... ...	aseti (aseti); pl. aseti (aseti) (N.)
Coal	...	
Agonia	...	gáno (a. pl. gáno)
Ash	...	gáno (gáno); pl. pa gáno (N.)
Sport Season	...	gáno (gáno); pl. gáno (gáno) (N.)
Gáno	...	Gáno (Gáno); pl. Gáno (Gáno) (N.)

Gáti, the help is in modern Greek, a gáno is the regular

Bar		Arrow (Arrowbirch) ; pl., Arrowed (Arrowbirch) (P.)
Bard		Arrowbow (Arrowbow) ; pl., Arrow (Arrowbirch) (P.)
Bell		Bell (Hollow) ; pl., Hollow (Hollowbell) (P.)
Bee		Hegemon (Hegemonic) ; pl., Hegem (Hegemonic) (P.)
Beetle		Homag (Hornagle) ; pl., Homagen (Hornagenbell)
Bell		Allowgen (Allowgenic) ; pl., Allowgens (Allowgenicbell) (P.)
Bell (Leg)		Orphen (Orphenic) ; pl., Orphenic (Orphenicbell) (P.)
		Hyphilic (Hyphilicbell) ; pl., Hyphilicbell (Hyphilicbell) (P.)
Belly		Hyphilic (Hyphilicbell) ; pl., Hyphilicbell (Hyphilicbell) (P.)
Belt		Arrowed (Arrowbirch) ; pl., Arrowed (Arrowbirch) (P.)
Bengo		Dragonic (Dragonbell) ; pl., Dragonic (Dragonbell). Reg. See Arrowbirch or Bellcastle.
Bird		Hyph (Hyphbell) ; pl., Hyph (Hyphbell) (P.)
Blood		Alpha (Alphbell) (P.)
Bone		Arrow (Arrow) ; pl., Arr (Arrbell) (P.)
Bowsher		Hyphilic (Hyphilic) ; pl., Hyphilic (Hyphilicbell) (P.)
Bow		Arrowbig (Arrowbigbell) ; pl., Arrowbigbell (Arrowbigbell). See Arrowbig-Ar. Reg. Arrowbig-Ar. Ab. Arrowbig. P., Arrowgen
Boy		Arch (Archbell) ; pl., Archbell (Archbell) (P.)
Breast		
Bow		Hyphilic (Hyphilicbell) ; pl., Hyphilic (Hyphilicbell) (P.)
Bronze		Arrowbell (Arrowbell) ; pl., Arrowbell (Arrowbell) (P.)
Bridge		Dragon (Dragonbell) ; pl., Dragon (Dragonbell) (P.)
Brown		Hyphen (Hyphenbell) ; pl., Hyphen (Hyphenbell)
Brother		Arrow (Arrowbell) ; pl., Arrowbell (Arrowbell). Ref. See Arrowbell (Arrowbell) + Arrowbell
Buffalo		Hyphen (Hyphenbell) ; pl., Hyphen (Hyphenbell) (P.)
Bull		Arrowbirch (Arrowbirchbell) ; pl., Arrowbirch (Arrowbirchbell) (P.)
Bullock		A (Arrow) ; pl., Arrow (Arrowbell) (P.)
Burnside		Arr (Arrow) ; pl., Arrow (Arrowbell)
Butterfly		Arr (Arrow) ; pl., Arrow (Arrowbell) (P.)
Calf		Arrow (Arrowbell) ; pl., Arrow (Arrowbell) (P.)
Cap		Hyphen (Hyphenbell) ; pl., Hyphen (Hyphenbell) (P.)
Cap with square top		Arrow (Arrowbell) ; pl., Arrowbell (Arrowbell) (P.)
Car		Arrowgen (Arrowgenbell) ; pl., Arrowgen (Arrowgenbell) (P.)
Cat (Arrowbell)		Arrowbell (Arrowbell) ; pl., Arrowbell (Arrowbell) (P.)
Chain		Arrowbig (Arrowbigbell) ; pl., Arrowbigbell (Arrowbigbell) (P.)
Chair		Dragon (Dragonbell) ; pl., Dragon (Dragonbell) (P.)
Child		Arrow (Arrowbell) ; pl., Arrow (Arrowbell) (P.)

SNI S. V. S. Grammarians.—Dhatu Pradipa: Some Account of

Prasad ... ... Asatha (Asathaah); pl., Asathaa (Asathaalik) (K.).
Prag ... ... Chhaapraa (Chhaapraah); pl., Chhaapraa (Chhaapraalok) (D.).
Pradeep ... ... Ghar (Ghartan); pl., Ghara (Gharaalok). (Cf. K., bagaicha.)
Pramukha ... ... Ijala (Ijalaka); pl., Ijalaa (Ijalaaik) (K.).
Pranjaydhar dim. Jar (Jaraa); pl., Jaraaa (Jaraaalk) (K.) (for the pl. cf. Rag., Jaraaalk).
Rdh ... ... Jadidh (Jadidh-i); pl., Jadidha (Jadidhaalk) (K.).
Rat ... ... Jhuhaadara (Jhuhaadaraa); pl., Jhuhaadara (Jhuhaadaraalk) (D.).
Ja (Jagha); pl., Ajala (Ajalk) (K.) (for the secondary sing., cf. Ka., Jagha).
Rrao ... ... Jhajhaaraa (Jhajhaaraa); pl., Jhajhaaraa (Jhajhaaraalk) (D.).
Rdd ... ... Jala (Jalaka); pl., Jalaa (Jalaaik) (K.).
Chad-hya ... ... Jalaaa (K.).
Dhdo ... ... Jhal (Jhalaak). (Rag., gank. K., gank. K., dhgaak.)
Chaa ... ... Jaaaaa (Jaaaaaalk); pl., Jaaaaa (Jaaaaaik) (D.).
Jaaaka (Jaaaakaka); pl., Jaaaka (Jaaaakaik) (D.).
Chaadhagga ... Jhaaaajjaaa (Jhaaaajjaaa); pl., Jhaaaajjaaa (Jhaaaajjaaik) (K.).
Chadda ... ... gaaik.
Chay bak ... ... Jaihaal (Jaihaaka); pl., Jaihaaka (Jaihaaaaik). (K., Jaihaaka.)
Chaadaaaa ... Jal (Jalka); pl., Jalka (Jalka-o) (K.).
Chaaa ... ... jaaka (jaaka); pl., jaaka (jaaaik) (K.).
Rjdh ... ... Jaaayaak (Jaaayaaka); pl., Jaaayaak (Jaaayaaik). (As K., except the secondary sing., where K. has Jaagh.)
Rbdh ... ... Jaaiya (Jaaiyaa). K., Jaaiyaa. Rag., Jaaiyaa.
Rbaad ... ... Jaaaa (Jaaaaka); pl., Jaaaaa (Jaaaaaik) (K.).
Chaal ... ... Jaaaiyaa (Jaaaiyaaka); pl., Jaaaiyaa (Jaaaiyaaaik) (D.).
Chaddh ... ... Jaaya (Jaaaaa) (K.).
Chaadh ... ... Jhaaa (Jhaaaik); pl., Jhaaaa (Jhaaaaaik). K., Jhaaa.")
Chaaaaa ... ... Jaaaa (Jaaaaaa).
Chaal ... ... Jaaaaiiy (Jaaaaiiyaka); pl., Jaaaaiiyaa (Jaaaaiiyaaik). K., Jhaaaiiyaa. Rag., Jaaaiiyaa.
Rbaa ... ... Jaaaaa (Jaaaaaka); pl., Jaaaaa (Jaaaaaik) (K.).
Chdh, aa ... ... Jaaaa (Jaaaaka); pl., Jaaaa (Jaaaaik). K., Jaaaka; pl., Jaaaaik. K., Jaaaka; pl., Jaaaaik.
Chd ... ... Jaaaa (Jaaaaa); pl., Jaaaaaa (Jaaaaaaik) (K.).
Rby ... ... Jay (Jayka); pl., Ajala (Ajalaaik) (K., Jaka-o; pl., Jaaaaa. Rk., Jay; pl., Jajaaa). Jaaaa-ayaiga.
Chyaaaaaaaa ... Jaaaaa (Jaaaaaka); pl., Jaaaaaa (Jaaaaaaik) (K.).

Kid	.. ..	kwiteg (kwitegen) ; pl., kwitegon (kwitegindik) (N.).
Kidney	.. ..	kemis (kemsit) ; pl., kemsit (kemsik) (N.).
Kiss	.. ..	kwasis (kwasien) (N.).
Kiss and suck	..	kegwon (kegwonik) (N.).
Kissing-bird	..	kipkwirit (kipkwiryot) ; pl., kipkwirion (kipkwirionik) (N.).
Kissing-bird	..	kipkwiria (kipkwiriik) (N.).
Knee	.. ..	ciya (ciyot) ; pl., ciot (ciik) (N.).
Knife	.. ..	kwa (kwet) ; pl., kwet (kwek) (N.).
Knife	.. ..	kwekwogo (kwekwogot) ; pl., kwekwogon (kwekwogonik) (N.).
Kongoni	.. ..	delas (delasi) (N.).
Lake	.. ..	ongon (ongonik) ; pl., ongonon (ongononik). Ex. kip-ongon-ion, lesson.
Lantern	.. ..	kipkwanin (kipkwaniot) ; pl., kipkwaon (kipkwanik) (N.).
Leaf-bird	.. ..	mamindigwin (mamindigwinet) ; pl., mamindigwi (mamindigwinik) (N.).
Leopard	.. ..	kimoswek (kimoswekon) ; pl., kimoswekon (kimoswekonik) (N.).
Life goes o	..	chiito ne ogwon.
Lion	.. ..	kwost (kwostin) ; pl., kwostoa (kwostonik) (N.).
Alarm	.. ..	nai (naiet) ; pl., naiot (naiik) (N.).
Bull	.. ..	sendet (sendetion) ; pl., sendik (sendinik) (N.).
Child	.. ..	kilio (kiliot).
Dropsy	.. ..	ongwon (ongwonin) (N.).
Elevation	.. ..	chwi (chwiik) (N.).
Face Cleaner	..	kipkwamanik (kipkwamanikik).
Insect	.. ..	kwet (kwetien) ; pl., kwet (kwetik) (N.).
Iron	.. ..	kwesa (kwesen) ; pl., kwesa (kwesik) (N.).
Jackal	.. ..	kibos (kibosi) ; pl., kibos (kibosik) (N.).
Jar ..	.. ..	sciya (sciyot) ; pl., sciyon (sciyonik) (N.).
Jaw	.. ..	sosiningoiyo (sosiningoiyot) ; pl., sosiningoin (sosiningoinik) (N.).
Kidney	.. ..	somoiya (somoiyot) ; pl., somoot (somoik) (N.).
Knee	.. ..	kwelilig (kwelilgin) ; pl., kwelilgwon (kwelilgwonik) (N.).
Knife	.. ..	chwechwon (chwechwon) ; pl., chwechwin (chwechwinik) (N.).
Laughter	.. ..	kikoiyo (kikoiyot) ; pl., kikoiyon (kikoiyonik) (N.).
Leaf ..	.. ..	ongo (ongot) ; pl., ong (ongik) (N.).
Left	.. ..	kwiwon (N.).
Leg ..	.. ..	kol (kolik) ; pl., kolwo (kolwik) (N.).
Calf of	.. ..	ol (olwo) ; pl., olwo (olwik) (N.).
Paw	.. ..	sumelwin (sumelwiot) ; pl., sumelwiik (sumelwiikik)
Hind	.. ..	chiit (chiitik) ; pl., chiitin (chiitik) (N.).
Skin	.. ..	kwesh (kweshin) ; pl., kweshon (kweshonik) (N.). (D.).

[Illegible] ... [illegible] (Illegible) ... (Illegible)

[Illegible] ... [illegible] (Illegible) ... (Illegible)

[Illegible] ... [illegible] (Illegible) ... (Illegible)

(A) Verbs

Verbs are given in their stem (i.e. the imperative sing.) only. The following affixes (–ish), means that it is a derived stem and conjugated as described in its respective table. Its starting vowel is affixed to it. (Trans. = transitive/active, Ipfv. = perfective/stative, Pass. = passive, Ref. = reflexive, Rp. = reciprocal, Sbg. = subjunctive)

abik-ibir	(v.)	babish (Pv.)	kayabish	(v.)	kaya (Pv.)
abuta	(v.)	abag (Pv.)	kinagh	(v.)	kin (Pv.)
angaz-ibir	(v.)	anabish (Pv.)	kuwan	(v.)	ku (Pv.)
asawa	(v.)	sawa (Pv.)	ka	(v.)	ak (Pv.)
atda	(v.)	tigish (Pv.)	kin	(v.)	ak (Pv.)
awwa	(v.)	h-ak (Pv.) (Trans.)	kitta	(v.)	tikan-ish (Pv.) (Ref.)
ayuwan	(v.)	kaya (Pv.)	kis	(v.)	ti (v.) = a-kis (Pv.)
ab	(v.)	t-ugish (Pv.)			ti (v.) = h-ak-kis (Pv.)
ayuta	(v.)	ayuwa (Pv.)	kiy	(v.)	gaat (Pv.)
ki	(v.)	ak (Pv.)	ka	(v.)	ak (Pv.)
ibus-ibabi	(v.)	b (Pv.)	kinak	(v.)	ak (Pv.)
ibat	(v.)	gik (Pv.)	kinak-ibir	(v.)	gikish (Pv.)
ikuhus	(v.)	tgukish (Pv.)	kaufi	(v.)	wasa (Pv.)
ka	(v.)	ak (Pv.)	kat	(v.)	ak (Pv.)
ikhab	(v.)	ahabish (Pv.)	kinagu	(v.)	ku (Pv.)
ikhu	(v.)	kuwa (Pv.)			
ikat	(v.)	ahaya (Pv.)	kanagh-ibir	(v.)	ana (Pv.)
ikut-ibir	(v.)	ugish (Pv.)	kunagabi-ibir	(v.)	ana (Pv.)
ikuyib	(v.)	ki (Pv.)	kuf	(v.)	gaa (Pv.)
ikuyib-ibir	(v.)	kuwa (Pv.)	kuagaat-ibir	(v.)	tigish (Pv.)
ikuwaha	(v.)	gaa (Pv.)	kha	(v.)	a-kan (Pv.)
ikuz	(v.)	a-kin (Pv.)			a-kan (Pv.)
ikhag	(v.)	a-k-k (Pv.) (Trans.)	kugh	(v.)	gi-kis (Pv.) (Ref.)
ikuhi	(v.)	kan (Pv.)	kha	(v.)	kuyish (Pv.)
ikuz-gaat	(v.)	gat (Pv.)	kha-uda-kan	(v.)	uda-uf (Pv.) (Rp.)
ika	(v.)	ut (Pv.)	kha-uda-kan	(v.)	[Pv.] u-f
ikuf	(v.)	kuz (Pv.)			
ikuda	(v.)	ki (Pv.)	kuda-gaat	(v.)	ku (Pv.)
ikhab	(v.)	ubag (Pv.)	kuzaha-t-ki	(v.)	kuzaya-gis (Pv.)
ika-uwaha	(v.)	ahawa-ka (Pv.)	kuf	(v.)	awaa (Pv.)
ikha	(v.)	kut (Pv.)	kahus	(v.)	kaya (Pv.)
ikuda	(v.)	ikhab-ka-ibir (Pv.) (Trans.)	kuagu	(v.)	yuda (Pv.)
ikuhi	(v.)	h-kuya (Pv.)	kuz	(v.)	ada (Pv.)

[1] (Pv.) = (v.) + kuwa

[2] Kuz-ibir (v.) = kuyish – kuz-ibir (v.) = kuz-ibir (v.) + kuwa (v.)

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]